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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 47th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 27 October 1992, at 10 a.m.

President:	Mr. GANEV	(Bulgaria)
later:	Mr. MONGBE (Vice-President)	(Benin)
later:	Mr. GANEV (President)	(Bulgaria)

- Restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations in the economic, social and related fields: report of the Secretary-General [47]

- Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization: reports of the Secretary-General [10] (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 47

RESTRUCTURING AND REVITALIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND RELATED FIELDS: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/534)

The PRESIDENT: With regard to our consideration of this item, I should like to inform members that, in order to facilitate negotiations on a draft resolution, I am establishing an open-ended working group on the restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations in the economic, social and related fields. In this connection I have requested the Permanent Representative of Uruguay to chair the working group on my behalf. Since the subject-matter encompasses economic, social and administrative and budgetary issues, due care will be given to close consultations with the Chairmen of the Second, Third and Fifth Committees.

The Assembly will continue its consideration of agenda item 47 at a future meeting, to be announced in the Journal.

AGENDA ITEM 10 (continued)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/1, A/47/277)

Mr LUNA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Peru agrees with the views expressed by the Permanent Representative of Argentina on behalf of the Rio Group a few weeks ago and with what Indonesia said on behalf of the non-aligned countries. However, we wish to make a few additional points that in our opinion are of particular importance.

We are pleased that a substantive debate is taking place on the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization. Such a debate, prompted on this occasion by the almost simultaneous publication of

(Mr Luna, Peru)

the special report "An Agenda for Peace", should be encouraged and become the permanent practice. The two documents are complementary and should be considered together.

The special report of the Secretary-General, "An Agenda for Peace", is an important analysis of the international situation and contains many initiatives in the area of international peace and security. It has a solid internal logical structure, and includes many novel proposals. We support the idea of establishing a working group of the General Assembly to study it in detail.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

For its part, the Secretary-General's 1992 report on the work of the Organization sets out the activities carried out by the United Nations in the area of peace-keeping and with respect to its internal institutional organization, particularly with respect to simplifying the Secretariat and strengthening the international civil service. But its greatest contribution may be its concern with the question of development.

The documents before us paint a realistic picture. On the one hand, there are vast possibilities that require the commitment of all the Members of the Organization to make them a reality; on the other, there is the need to avoid certain risks in our collective efforts. I shall address three areas of special importance for the future of multilateral action.

The special report, "An Agenda for Peace", recognizes the key importance of respect for national sovereignty as a basis for the Organization's activities, but it reaffirms the need to redefine that concept. At present, sovereignty in its traditional sense is under attack on two fronts: the trend towards fragmentation of national sovereignty by centripetal forces, and the need for multilateral action properly to administer the transnational dynamic of the new world problems and protagonists.

Thus the reinterpretation of sovereignty is a vital task that should go beyond mere exhortation to seek a way of reconciling sovereignty with self-determination, particularly the self-determination of minorities. That would free it from its first limiting factor.

But at the same time an evolving concept of sovereignty should accommodate various national sovereignties on the basis of mutual concessions

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

in line with an international consensus - democratically reached by the entire international community, and not imposed by one group of countries - on the priority objectives of multilateral action and the machinery for attaining them internationally within the United Nations system.

That would make it possible to view the whole question of sovereignty in a broader perspective and thus to channel the interventionist trend in the post-cold-war world into areas and modalities that would make it beneficial for the entire international community. Failure to do this would reduce the question of sovereignty to one of dealing with the problems that can be posed to national Governments by emerging nationalistic and ethnic trends within States.

In that connection, I would note that while in developed countries, particularly those of Europe, the end of the cold war has led to the proliferation of nationalistic, ethnic and minority conflicts, the winding-down of nationalistic conflicts in the South has come about in the context of the emergence of a new generation of problems. In the case of Latin America, narco-terrorism is particularly significant.

In this scenario, cooperation with regional organizations is to be viewed not in the sense of subordination to the world Organization, but in terms of technical assistance. In this connection, the convening of a conference of regional organizations to define their needs has been proposed unofficially.*

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* Mr. Mongbe (Benin), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

The proposed establishment of regional risk-reduction centres is an extremely important initiative. But it is still not clear what department of the Headquarters Secretariat would be responsible for coordinating the centres to enable them to do their job properly.

The emphasis "An Agenda for Peace" places on cooperation with regional organizations seems, in a more general and broader sense, to be in line with the desire to promote democratization in international relations through greater and more direct participation by regional groupings, non-governmental organizations and society at large. As far as possible, the positions adopted by regional groups in the United Nations on the fundamental issues before the Organization must reflect due coherence among the various entities.

For countries like Peru it is necessary to stress a concept that is of the greatest importance for the future work of the United Nations: economic and social issues cannot and should not appear to be subordinate to conflict-settlement. If it were, the United Nations would seem to be addressing primarily questions of international peace and security, leaving economic matters to institutions that supposedly have certain comparative advantages in that respect, and social issues to the specialized agencies. Such compartmentalization would limit development efforts and reduce the role of the United Nations in that sphere to humanitarian and technical assistance. This would not accord with the spirit or the letter of the San Francisco Charter. Moreover, it would involve many risks for the developing countries, in that economic and social issues would be given a lower priority than issues of peace and security.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

Moreover, such a division of labour would leave the United Nations unable to tackle both spheres of action simultaneously; dealing with international economic and social issues could be indefinitely postponed within the United Nations, with the exception of those directly related to the resolution of specific crises or conflicts.

To establish a genuine, development-oriented multilateral system of cooperation and coordination, it is vital to recognize the importance of social, economic, humanitarian and environmental issues for the future of the international community, for these are at the heart of the relationship between the poor countries and the rich. Paradoxically, these issues are not yet being given either proper attention or adequate resources. Apart from a few notable efforts, United Nations action in this sphere continues to be inadequate and limited.

In this regard, the developing countries have proposed that a strategy be developed, on the basis of consistent, balanced and non-discriminatory application of the principles of the Charter, incorporating all aspects of the world situation, both those related to international peace and security and those related to development, and that a broad consensus be achieved in order to put it into practice. I believe that that would determine the viability of multilateral diplomacy in today's world.

Awareness of the risks I have described and of the need for the United Nations to make an appropriate institutional response has led over the past year to a reorganization of the Secretariat. The second stage of this reorganization, which should be put into effect in the near future, should concentrate on enhancing the interdependent functions in the economic and social sphere.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

In that connection, unifying the management of Secretariat activities in the areas of development, cooperation and the environment would help make them more effective and facilitate coordination of the activities of the system's specialized agencies. This should not be an exercise in bureaucratic appropriation, where Headquarters takes on functions that by their very nature should be carried out by States and that might also overburden the Organization. As has been indicated, the United Nations should be making an intellectual and political effort to define the way it will handle development cooperation in the future and the guiding role of the United Nations in this whole area.

It is almost trite to say that the United Nations is at a historic turning point. In order not to waste this so-called regained opportunity, which we all welcome, we must think out and put into practice, preferably under unified and effective leadership, an agenda for development to complement our Agenda for Peace, in such a way that the priority given to the problems of peace will facilitate the handling of the problems of development, and vice versa.

Mr. TRINH XUAN LANG (Viet Nam): The current international situation and the expectations of the world's peoples in the capacity of the United Nations today require that the Organization undergo a fundamental renewal.

The Secretary-General states in his report on the work of the Organization that the years between 1992 and the fiftieth anniversary, in 1995, may well determine the course and contribution of the Organization for the next generation or more. In this connection, on behalf of the Vietnamese delegation I should like to express our appreciation of the efforts made by the Secretary-General in preparing his annual report on the work of the Organization (A/47/1) of 11 September 1992 and his earlier report of 17 June 1992, entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277). Those efforts reflect his commitment to revitalizing the world body with a view to making it more effective in maintaining international peace and security and contributing to the solution of global issues. Important and innovative, the documents contain many new ideas which require thorough examination and the widest consultation among all Members of the Organization. My delegation supports the proposal to establish an open-ended working group of the General Assembly to make an in-depth study of the recommendations contained in "An Agenda for Peace".

As there will be other opportunities for us to discuss specific proposals made by the Secretary-General in his reports, I shall confine myself now to giving our views on some aspects of the reports which are of major concern to us as a non-aligned, developing country and a member of the Group of 77.

The present international situation is characterized by, inter alia, the gap between the rich and poor countries, between the North and the South. In today's interdependent world, unless these phenomena are redressed lasting

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

international peace and security cannot be ensured. Two thirds of the world's population in developing countries are living in difficult economic conditions. In his annual report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General stated:

"It is unacceptable that absolute poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy and hopelessness should be the lot of one fifth of the world's population." (A/47/1, para. 61)

and

"Political progress and economic development are inseparable". (A/47/1, para. 64)

We are encouraged by the Secretary-General's view that the Organization's responsibilities and commitments in the political and security area should not be carried out at the expense of its responsibilities in the development field, and neither should be subordinated to the other and that it is essential that they be pursued in an integrated, mutually supporting way. We appreciate his commitment to enhance the renewal of global partnership for development and to work out an agenda for development, as reflected in his report, and we hope that the agenda for development will be treated with equal attention.

As one of the countries confronted with special economic problems, due to the implementation of economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, we urge the Secretary-General to take appropriate measures, including resort to the financial institutions within the United Nations system, to assist those countries, as provided for by Article 50 of the Charter. It is our strong belief that the United Nations should have full responsibility for all its actions, including redressing the difficulties faced by those countries as a result of their implementation of United Nations resolutions.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

During the 47 years since the founding of the United Nations, while mankind has been spared an annihilating world war, hundreds of large-scale and small-scale wars and conflicts have taken place in various regions, with devastating consequences. One of the most common factors leading to those wars and conflicts, as was vividly demonstrated in the Viet Nam wars during the three decades following the Second World War, was disregard for the principle of respect for national independence and sovereignty and the integrity of States.

Now that the United Nations is discussing ways and means to prevent and resolve conflicts and preserve peace in the new situation following the end of the cold war and the disintegration of the old international order, based on the division of the world into two blocs, the sacrosanct principles as stated by the Secretary-General in his report "An Agenda for Peace" that

"The foundation-stone of this work is and must remain the State".

and that

"Respect for its fundamental sovereignty and integrity are crucial to any common international progress." (A/47/277, para 17)

have to be strictly and truly respected. In his statement before the Assembly in the general debate, our Foreign Minister emphasized that while isolationism was outmoded, national sovereignty for ever remained a sacred value which all countries, large or small, rich or poor, are determined to defend.

We are of the view that any decision taken after our discussion of these documents, both now and later, must be based on strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the recognized norms of inter-State conduct, particularly the principles of full respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

affairs of States. The concept of national sovereignty can in no way be eroded. At the same time, respect for the right to self-determination of all peoples under colonial or foreign occupation must be ensured.

We believe that the United Nations, as the most universal international Organization devoted to peace and development, should do its utmost to strengthen its capacity for the pacific settlement of disputes and avoid the use of force. We advocate the peaceful settlement of all disputes through dialogue and negotiations without resort to force or the threat of force.

While recognizing the forward-looking approach in some specific recommendations relating to preventive diplomacy, such as fact-finding, we believe that fact-finding should be conducted only on the basis of the principle of a request from a Member State and the prior consent of all concerned parties. This requirement has been laid down in various General Assembly resolutions on the subject.

The effectiveness of the concerted efforts of the United Nations in the field of preventing and resolving conflicts and preserving peace will depend on the credibility of the Organization's consistency in the application of the principles of the Charter.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

In this connection, we share the view, as expressed by the Secretary-General, that the principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively. The point my delegation would like to stress is that the consistent and non-selective application of the Charter can only be ensured by the democratization of international life and inter-State relations and the reform and restructuring of the United Nations. Here again, I would like to refer to the statement of our Foreign Minister before the Assembly, where he said

> "In the new context, the composition of the Security Council and the balance between the Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General of the United Nations must reflect the realities of a world which has radically changed as compared with the time when the United Nations was born, and even with only a few years ago.
>
> "We endorse the idea of re-examining and enlarging the composition of the Security Council, with due attention to developing countries, with a view to fully implementing the principle of equality between all Member States and ensuring that the voice of the majority is duly heard in the process of making decisions on issues of critical importance to the international community." (A/47/PV.23, pp. 44-45 and 46)

It is our strong belief that the new and efficient United Nations must represent the majority and collective aspirations of its membership and that all Member States have the right to participate actively and democratically in the promotion of collective interests of the global community.

Finally, we wish to assure the Secretary-General of our support for his efforts and his objective of strengthening and making more efficient within

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

the framework and provisions of the Charter, the capacity of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as in other areas. Improvement is a never-ending task. We hope that the Secretary-General's objective will be achieved and that, with the efforts and the participation of all Member States, a fundamental renewal of the United Nations in other fields will be complete by the time it marks its fiftieth anniversary.

Mr. PEERTHUM (Mauritius): I welcome the opportunity to participate in the discussions on the report of the Secretary-General, "An Agenda for Peace", which we have already commended in our statement in the general debate at this session. It is an important document that will have fundamental implications for the future of our Organization. Therefore, it is quite fitting that the General Assembly, under the presidency of Mr. Ganev, should have begun an early debate on the Secretary-General's proposals under agenda item 10. As many speakers have indicated before me, we are only at the initial phase of discussions. The debate will be pursued at different levels inside the Organization.

I would hope, however, that the Assembly will be able to record the huge interest generated by the report and perhaps offer directions or guidelines for the future in the light of progress achieved. For, as the Secretary-General himself reminds us, the coming years until 1995 may well determine the course and contribution of the Organization for the next generation or beyond.

The Secretary-General has embarked on an ambitious task of defining a new role in the humanitarian field and making the Organization more effective in

(Mr. Peerthum, Mauritius)

maintaining and promoting peace. The United Nations can best contribute to the strengthening of collective security in such areas of vital importance, especially to smaller States.

In his annual report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General remarks that United Nations activities have greatly expanded in recent years, particularly since the end of the cold war. The responsibilities of the Organization have grown and so have our expectations. Unfortunately, the United Nations may not be able to respond to these new challenges if it is not provided with the necessary resources to face them.

In this regard, we welcome the suggestions of the non-aligned group and other delegations that an open working group be established by the General Assembly to examine the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace". That a majority of States is taking part in this thought-provoking and crucial debate is of great significance. We must therefore ensure that our deliberations uphold rather than undermine the high aspirations and concrete objectives contained in "An Agenda for Peace".

"An Agenda for Peace" identifies those challenges and objectives, and offers clear and pragmatic solutions. The Secretary-General calls for sounder and more reliable financing, better communications and tools for preventive diplomacy and less cumbersome mechanisms and procedures for peace-keeping operations than those enforceable under Chapter VII of the Charter, particularly in an increasingly volatile international environment where localized conflicts may recur. These proposals must be looked at in their entirety. Favouring one issue over another or widening the debate will only dilute the thrust of the package.

(Mr. Peerthum, Mauritius)

In choosing to be pragmatic, the Agenda is necessarily selective. It may not fully address, for example, the serious concerns of non-military threats to peace and a whole range of interdependent economic issues that have implications for global security and national security. The new approach advocated by the Secretary-General also raises numerous questions about sovereignty, the principle of consent, the interpretation of the Charter, the pre-eminence and credibility of the Council and its relations with the General Assembly. But the Organization is at a crossroad and it cannot be impervious to the process of evolution. "An Agenda for Peace" offers us the opportunity for change at a crucial period. Change may be advocated at a faster pace in one direction rather than another. That does not mean that needed reforms in other fields will necessarity stagnate. They may in fact benefit from a snowballing effect, for the major obstacles to change at the United Nations remain the lack of political will and the absence of financial resources.

"An Agenda for Peace" addresses them head on and deserves our full support.

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania): The delegation of Indonesia has already spoken on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement on agenda item 10. My delegation associates itself with that statement. For this reason, I will limit my comments to a few areas of the Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277), dated 17 June 1992, which my delegation feels need stressing. First, let me also extend my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General for a very comprehensive, thought-provoking and challenging report.

As the Secretary-General stressed in his report, and as many delegations have repeated both during the general debate and in the present debate, the international political situation has undergone a fundamental change. The old order has collapsed and a new one, which offers hope in the search to solutions to longstanding problems, is emerging. The demands on the United Nations to respond positively to peoples' rising aspirations everywhere for peace and security, for economic and social justice, and for democracy and the enjoyment of human rights, are unprecedented. It is important that the United Nations capacity to respond to these demands be enhanced in these propitious times.

I should like to touch briefly on the scope of the report. The Security Council mandate of 31 January 1992 requested the Secretary General to prepare an

> "analysis and recommendations on ways of strengthening and making more efficient within the framework and provisions of the Charter the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peace-keeping". (S/23500, p.3)

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

At the time, many developing countries expressed concern that the report ran the risk of being narrowly focused, ignoring their legitimate concerns and interests, which have a bearing on questions of international peace and security. We are encouraged to see that the Secretary-General has been sensitive to these concerns. From the start, he recognized the sources of conflict and war as being "pervasive and deep". In his own words:

> "To reach them will require our utmost effort to enhance respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to promote sustainable economic and social development for wider prosperity, to alleviate distress and to curtail the existence and use of massively destructive weapons." (A/47/277, para. 5)

In his regular report to the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly (A/47/1), the Secretary-General elaborates on the development dimension of people's aspirations in a way that is reassuring to the developing countries. He states:

> "It is clear that the Organization's responsibilities and commitments in the political and security area should not be carried out at the expense of its responsibilities in the development field, and neither should be subordinated to the other. It is essential that they be pursued in an integrated, mutually supporting way." (A/47/1, para. 66)

We fully share the view of the Secretary-General.

Next I would like to focus briefly on some of the more topical concepts covered in the report: democracy, human rights and the principles of the sovereign equality of States and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Tanzania welcomes the world-wide yearning for democracy within nations. Within our own borders we have been doing our part to enrich and

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

deepen our democracy. Yet we recognize that our experience is uniquely Tanzanian. Democracy can never be viewed as a preserve of any one nation or group of nations. Given the many different cultures and social and religious beliefs embraced by peoples and nations around the world, it is not possible to have universal structures, forms and institutions of democracy. While all responsible Governments and peoples throughout the world strive for more democracy, the tendency of some members of the international community to prescribe their structures and values as models of democracy for other States is unacceptable.

Just as democracy is a sound foundation for peace and progress within nations, democracy between nations is a sound basis for the promotion of international peace and security and for the advancement of social and economic progress. Nations should therefore promote it between themselves with the zeal with which they promote it at the national level. We agree with the Secretary-General's observation that democracy within the family of nations means the application of its principles within the Organization itself and that this requires

"the fullest consultation, participation and engagement of all States, large and small, in the work of the Organization". (A/47/277, para. 82)

It means helping to spread and promote the democratic ethic and culture within the Organization and all international forums, especially those dealing with issues of critical importance to the majority of humanity.

At the national level, democracy has become a watchword of everyday usage. Hardly a day passes without our hearing it. At the global level, the call for it has become more than muted. Talking about it today, one has almost to apologize for disturbing the peace. Yet the call for a new

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

international economic order is essentially a call for the application of the principles of democracy in the management of the increasingly interdependent world economy. Democracy is incompatible with the inequities of the economic order established in the wake of the Second World War. A commitment to democracy at the national level that is not accompanied by a similar commitment at the global level is less than adequate. As the Secretary-General correctly pointed out, an agenda that is intended to advance the cause of democracy in our world today but that ignores the glaring inequities of the present economic system will be an inadequate response to the perverse and deep sources of conflict and war.

Equally, we welcome the attention being paid increasingly to the promotion and protection of human rights. To say that a Government that does not respect the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms of its people does not deserve their loyalty and support is to state the obvious. However, the universal validity of these rights and freedoms does not give any one country or group of countries the right to impose on others a unilateral interpretation of their enjoyment or otherwise in other countries.

It is also important to point out that the basic provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights embody two mutually balancing aspects - those which respect the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals and those which stipulate the obligations of the individual to society and the State. Equally, basic human rights extend to economic, social and cultural needs, not just to civil and political needs. The tendency to address human rights selectively does a great disservice to the cause of their promotion and protection.

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

Throughout the report the Secretary-General recognizes the necessity of adhering strictly to the principles enshrined in Article 2, paragraphs 1, 3, 4 and 7 of the Charter calling for respect for the sovereign equality of States and strict adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. In our view, these principles should not be diluted or abridged in any way. Yet the assurances have not succeeded in completely allaying the fears of many delegations, including mine. There is a need for a careful study of the proposals touching on these provisions.

My final comments of a general nature relate to the provisions of the Charter, contained in Articles 10, 11, 13, 14 and 15, on the powers and functions of the General Assembly in the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. These provisions make clear that the General Assembly has an important role to play in the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security; yet the General Assembly seldom exercises these powers. In the present climate favouring dialogue and negotiations, every effort should be made to encourage the Assembly to assume its responsibilities in this vital area of the work of the United Nations. To this end, we warmly welcome the recommendations contained in paragraph 36 of the report.

I should now like to turn very briefly to some of the specific proposals and recommendations in the report - those of particular interest to my delegation and, I believe, to many small countries.

The first relates to the concept of preventive deployment. We share the view expressed by many delegations that these proposals need further study and elaboration. Preventive deployment is uncharted territory; it is a new concept not foreseen in the Charter. Firstly, it envisages use of force

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

before the conditions set out in the Charter have been fulfilled. It seems to call for the application of Chapter VII in circumstances in which the Charter requires the application of Chapter VI. Secondly, its application runs the risk of violating the principle of sovereignty enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 7.

It is true that in cases of conflicts where the parties agree to preventive deployment there is no such risk; difficulties could, however, arise when the initiative comes from elsewhere. According to the proposal, the question then becomes one of consent. The nature of that consent and the manner in which it is obtained could raise issues of critical importance.

A second area which relates to peacemaking and is of concern to my delegation is the recommendation in paragraph 44 of the report regarding peace-enforcement units. The report implies that if the forces anticipated in Article 43 of the Charter were available there might not be a need for the peace-enforcement units of the kind contemplated in paragraph 44.

We welcome the readiness of some Member States to provide forces under the proposal, but are uncomfortable because this entails a reinterpretation of the Charter. We do not understand the reluctance to provide them under Article 43. Moreover, the proposal seems to my delegation to reverse the order of action intended in the Charter.

In our view, the proposal needs further study. In addition to reconciling the proposal with the Charter, the study could also address the reasons for the failure to implement Article 43. These concerns do not diminish my delegation's admiration for the Secretary-General's efforts to find an urgent solution to the difficult problem which he has identified. We will cooperate with all Member States in the search for a solution.

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

Our third area of concern is the proposal in paragraph 41 of the report on the need for measures to alleviate the special economic problems faced by countries as a result of compliance with mandatory Security Council sanctions. In our view the problem is essentially political; its solution must therefore be essentially political, not technical. We therefore fully support the Secretary-General's proposal, and hope that the Security Council will bear this consideration in mind.

I do not wish to leave these areas of specific interest to my delegation without making it clear that there are many proposals in the report which enjoy my delegation's full support. Those focusing on preventive diplomacy, including confidence-building measures and fact-finding missions, enjoy our full support. The need for a well-coordinated network of early-warning systems is also self-evident if the capacity of the Organization to foresee and pre-empt conflicts is to be enhanced. The principle is agreed, although the details will need to be worked out.

In the area of peacemaking, we are in accord with the general thrust of the proposals regarding the role the International Court of Justice can play. The same applies to international efforts to alleviate causes of conflict. We are also in general agreement with the recommendations relating to personnel and logistics in the area of peace-keeping, and to those relating to post-conflict peace-building and safety of personnel.

We also share the view that regional organizations can play an important role in the maintenance of international peace and security.

On the financing of the Organization, we fully agree with the conclusion the Secretary-General reaches in paragraph 72 that:

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

"Whatever decisions are taken on financing the Organization, there is one inescapable necessity: Member States must pay their assessed contributions in full and on time". (A/47/277)

Before I conclude, I should like to go back to the important question of the need to promote democracy more vigorously at the international level. The need for the reform of the United Nations has been generally recognized and accepted. Reforms of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary organs have already been undertaken.

The only major organ of the United Nations that remains unaffected by the demands for reform is the Security Council. Yet nowhere in the United Nations is the need for democratic reforms felt more acutely than in the composition and functioning of the Council. As we were so eloquently reminded by one speaker at the Security Council summit meeting in January, the membership of the Council at the time of the founding of the United Nations in 1945 represented 20 per cent of the membership. Today, with a membership of 15, the Council represents only slightly more than 8 per cent of the membership of the United Nations. The need for enlargement is as self-evident as the need for the abolition of the power of veto.

The case for abolition of the veto was clear even before the collapse of the bipolar world. With the end of the cold war and the emergence of an environment favouring consensus, it is claimed that the veto is beginning to look like an old, rusty weapon. Therefore, we ask: What is the justification for its retention?

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

The Council's methods of work also need reforming. Its meetings are shrouded in too much secrecy. There is a great need for transparency in the work of the Council. In the way it conducts its business, the Council hardly takes account of the views of other Members of the United Nations; yet it is intended to act on behalf of all Members and its decisions are binding on all.

The Council cannot expect to continue to enjoy the confidence and support of the rest of the membership of the Organization if it continues to resist their legitimate calls for reform. While some of the proposals may need time for study and elaboration, others, such as those calling for transparency and a sense of participation, need little more than a change of attitude.

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

Finally, I want to associate my delegation with the proposal that has gained wide acceptance in this debate for the way forward - the establishment of an open-ended working group under your chairmanship, Sir, to study the report more closely and to propose appropriate action by the General Assembly. We do not favour a fragmented approach to its consideration and we hope that those organs of the United Nations already studying aspects of the report will cooperate with the General Assembly in its efforts to respond in a comprehensive manner to the proposals in the Secretary General's report.

At the beginning of my statement I referred to the Secretary-General's recognition that the responsibilities and commitments of the United Nations in the political and security area, as well as those in the development field, have to be pursued in an integrated, mutually supportive way. This approach must surely apply to the procedure we should use in considering the proposals in his report. A fragmented approach at this stage will hardly contribute to an integrated approach at the implementation stage.

Mr. MUSUKA (Zambia): My delegation commends the timely preparation by the Secretary-General of his report "An Agenda for Peace", in response to the final statement of the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January this year. We also commend the important initiative taken at that historic Summit Meeting.

The report of the Secretary-General is thought-provoking in its analysis, ideas and recommendations. Its recommendations are also constructive, forward-looking and action-oriented. For those reasons, the report provides an invaluable basis for detailed discussion, further

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

consideration and thorough examination by a working group of the General Assembly in which the entire membership of the Organization will be able to participate.

Zambia strongly supports the objective of strengthening and making more efficient, within the framework and provisions of the Charter, the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peace-keeping.

My delegation shares the common conviction among nations that the end of the cold war affords our Organization a historic opportunity to fulfil its original promise. The United Nations is no longer crippled by the adversarial relations that existed between the two super-Powers, and generally between Eastern and Western Europe. On the contrary, the Organization has an unmatched opportunity to achieve the noble objectives of the Charter, namely: to maintain international peace and security; to secure justice, human rights and fundamental freedoms; and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. The United Nations may also rely on a virtually veto-free Security Council, on the demonstrated desire of its membership to cooperate, and on the growing movement of democratic forces and more open forms of government.

However, along with these opportunities and possibilities to fulfil its original promise, our Organization also confronts complex challenges in the post-cold-war era. It faces the spread of violent ethnic, tribal, religious, social, cultural or linguistic strife, which challenges the unity and cohesion of States; it faces ecological damage and a growing threat of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and it has to contend with

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

new and violent forms of racism. The United Nations is also obliged to face long-deferred global problems, such as poverty, the debt burden, protectionism, declining commodity prices, drought, famine, drugs and the ever-widening gap between rich and poor nations.

All these challenges, new and old, pose real threats to peace, stability and security. Durable peace is not merely the absence of war. "An Agenda for Peace", in its comprehensive sense, must therefore encompass these non-military threats. In particular, the United Nations should strengthen its capacity to promote international economic relations based on equity and democratic principles. The injustice that exists in international economic relations puts the developing countries at the mercy of the developed world. It makes their development difficult; it compounds the poverty of their peoples, which destroys their human dignity and deprives them of their potential. Poverty does not promote the process of democratization. It is economic and social progress which encourages and enhances democracy. The conduct of international economic relations on the basis of democratic principles is thus beneficial to the development and democratization of developing countries; it is also an important means of promoting peace and progress in the international community.

The Secretary-General rightly stresses the role of preventive diplomacy in easing tensions before they develop into conflicts, or if conflicts break out in containing them and resolving their underlying causes. We wish to underscore the need to make the fullest and most effective use of preventive diplomacy. All the peaceful means provided for under Chapter VI of the Charter must be exhausted before resorting to enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

For preventive diplomacy to be effective, the Secretary-General should be provided with the necessary measures to create confidence, as well as the means to evaluate situations before they break out into conflicts. The roles of the General Assembly and of regional organizations should also be emphasized. Greater use should be made of the International Court of Justice; the Secretary-General should also be authorized to seek advisory opinions from the World Court.

In the past, many delegations have examined the roles of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General in the maintenance of peace and security. Experience has now demonstrated the need to strengthen the Assembly's role in this important function, in accordance with Article 14 of the Charter. My delegation would also like to stress the importance of maintaining the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council as defined in the relevant provisions of the Charter.

We are gratified to note that the Security Council is now exercising more effectively its primary responsibility in the maintenance of international peace and security. In that regard, it is important to caution that membership on the Council entails special and solemn responsibilities. These responsibilities must not be abused or exercised on the basis of narrow national or group interests. The Council should not serve as an instrument for imposing the will of the powerful upon the weak. It must consistently strive to serve the interests of all States without discrimination or selectivity. There is also need for greater consultation and coordination between the Security Council and the General Assembly in the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

My delegation shares the Secretary General's view that

"the principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be of the latter, trust will wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and most unique quality of that instrument." (A/47/277, para. 82)

So that the United Nations may respond quickly to situations threatening international peace and security, it is imperative that Member States agree to place a permanent military force at the disposal of the Security Council. This matter requires the serious consideration of this Assembly. Such an agreement would, without doubt, impose great financial burdens on Members; however, peacemaking and peace-keeping operations necessarily entail onerous financial commitments.

The arrangement would ensure that such forces are deployed only under the command of the United Nations, in order that the Organization not be used merely to legitimate actions of individual Governments motivated purely by their own national interests. We believe that the United Nations would strive to act responsibly and without selectivity in invoking enforcement measures. These conditions are important if we are to maintain the efficacy and credibility of this world body.

To ensure that the interests of small and economically weak States are protected and their views taken into account on important decisions affecting international relations, the reforms we undertake must be based on respect for the cardinal principles of sovereignty, sovereign equality, non-intervention and the territorial integrity of States.

Peacemaking and peace-keeping are important functions of the United Nations. In this new era, peace-keeping operations are not limited to war situations but also involve the monitoring of elections.

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

The Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" provides a wealth of information that should serve as a basis for further consideration of the changes we seek it is important that the task be entrusted to an open-ended working group, which should submit its report to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

The world is today at the threshold of a new era characterized by uncertainties, requiring serious reflection on the part of Member States. Indeed, we are at a crossroads, and our resolve and commitment are needed more than ever before. We need the commitment of all in order to take the bold decisions necessary to make the United Nations more responsive to the challenges of the twenty-first century.

Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): The Sierra Leone delegation is of the view that efforts and proposals such as those contained in the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" and his report on the work of the Organization must be predicated on the Charter. Indeed, the purposes and principles of the Charter - the maintenance of international peace and security, the achievement of international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, the sovereign equality of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes between States, and the non-use or threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations Charter - remain as valid today as when first enunciated some 47 years ago.

The Secretary-General is therefore to be commended for the realistic position he has taken throughout his reports. The proposals of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping, post-conflict peace-building would, if implemented, go a long way towards creating a safer world for its peoples. These proposals, when coupled with the other modes of settlement of disputes set out in the Charter - negotiations, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement of disputes through the International Court of Justice - should provide an appropriate framework for the solution and elimination of the inter-State conflicts that presently afflict the world.

At a time when it was considered unrealistic because of the cold war to call for implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, at a time when States' habit of resorting to force was becoming all too frequent. The Government of Sierra Leone had called on this Organization to implement

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

the collective security provisions of the Charter for the maintenace of international peace and security. It is therefore understandable that the Sierra Leone delegation should welcome the Secretary-General's call for armed forces to be made available to the United Nations, both on an ad hoc and on a permanent basis, to be deployed as and whenever necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security. However, such forces, or indeed any enforcement measure, must not be seen to be undertaken selectively or to serve narrow national or group interests.

In a similar vein, the Sierra Leone delegation supports the recommendation for the creation of peace enforcement units of trained volunteer forces, to be deployed as a provisional measure in clearly defined circumstances. The recommendation of peace-building, in the form of the removal of land-mines, development of agriculture, improvement of transportation and utilization of resources, finds favour with my delegation as well. As in the past, the Government of Sierra Leone stands ready to make its contribution to the peace-keeping efforts of this Organization.

While regional arrangements have a role to play in the scheme of dispute settlement or the provision of humanitarian assistance, the Sierra Leone delegation is of the view that in our efforts to promote international peace and security we must guard against regionalizing the world. Although, the United Nations remains, in our view, the pre-eminent body for the maintenance of international peace and security, not all regional organizations are endowed with the material and other resources for peace-keeping. Hence, if those organizations are to play a meaningful role and help attain the objective of maintaining regional peace and security, the United Nations will have to provide them with the necessary support and assistance.

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

The Secretary-General also addressed that other prerequisite for the maintenance of international peace and security: elimination of abject poverty among the majority of the world's population and promotion of economic and social development through international cooperation. As pointed out in his report, new conflicts should not overshadow existing problems of unchecked population growth; crushing debt problems; drug-trafficking, which threatens the integrity of some small States; poverty, famine and disease. Drought and disease, the Secretary-General reminded us, can decimate no less mercilessly than weapons of war; hence the obligation of this Organization to address the root causes of economic decline and under-development in most African countries. The United Nations must intensify and further internationalize the development process in Africa. My delegation therefore firmly supports the recommendation for a reinvigorated Economic and Social Council.

My delegation also welcomes the Secretary-General's reaffirmation that the foundation of the United Nations is and must remain the State. Respect for the fundamental sovereignty and integrity of the State is crucial to any common international progress. However, my delegation is of the view that the principles of sovereignty and non-interference do not absolve national governments or their agents of responsibility for tyrannizing their populations or engaging in massive violation of their human rights. When a population is being held hostage by unrepresentative agents and has to endure enormous suffering as a result, this Organization has the duty and the obligation to come to its rescue and save it from continued suffering.

It should not be forgotten that, just as the United Nations Charter itself addresses peoples and not governments, this Organization, representing as it does the collective conscience of mankind, should not neglect the

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

interests of its fundamental constituents. However, such matters are better determined by the General Assembly than by the Security Council alone. In this way, the confidence and impartiality of such decisions cannot be objectively assailed or impugned, even by those to whom they are directly addressed. In this connection, all organs of the United Nations, particularly the General Assembly, should be seen to be playing their rightful role, not only to democratize international relations, but also to provide the political and moral authority necessary to make United Nations decisions acceptable even by those to whom they are directly addressed.

The Secretary-General's proposals are remarkable and far-reaching; yet they are based on realism. They also constitute a firm foundation for the long-term peace of the world. If implemented, they would go a long way, not only towards strengthening the United Nations itself but also towards helping it to achieve its twin objectives: the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of cooperation for the socio-economic development of the majority of its membership. We therefore commend the Secretary-General on his report and encourage him to continue in this direction.

Mr. YAACOBI (Israel): At the outset, I would like to congratulate the President of the General Assembly. We know of his leadership both in his home country and here at the United Nations, and we are confident that he will be successful in guiding the current session of the General Assembly.

This is my first address here in the General Assembly. I would like to greet everyone - the President, the Vice-Presidents, the Secretary-General, and the representatives of all Member States - with the traditional Israeli greeting of shalom, which means peace.

The principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations speak eloquently of the determination

> "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war ... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations ... to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security ... and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples ... ".

Events in the world today present us with many challenges, and we must address the following questions courageously: Are the words of the Charter merely words, words, words? Is it our duty to stop the killing in Bosnia? To halt terrorism? To enhance democracies rather than totalitarian regimes? To free the world from hunger? To put it simply, are we truly committed to carrying out the Charter of the United Nations?

If the answer is no, then we must confront the question posed by the Greek orator Demosthenes: "What greater crime can an orator be charged with than that his opinions and his language are not the same?"

(Mr. Yaacobi, Israel)

The Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace", is a courageous proposal truly to grapple with our commitment to peace and freedom, as it was set out in the Charter. On behalf of the Government of Israel, I would like to express our profound appreciation for the Secretary-General's enlightening report. It provides an intriguing and comprehensive basis for significant discussion about the future direction of the United Nations.

Israel is ready and willing to take an active part in creating a new political environment. As Foreign Minister Shimon Peres stated before this Assembly on 1 October 1992,

> "The United Nations was established in an era that no longer exists. Yet its ideals and structures can meet the challenges and dangers of this new age. We support the 'Agenda for Peace' offered by the Secretary-General". (A/47/PV. 20, p. 46)

A new reality has emerged in the global arena, and we must address it. No longer is this Organization shackled by the chains of super-Power rivalry. With the end of the cold war, a new kind of United Nations is being formed and moulded. The United Nations must now be a leading force, based on agreement among Member States that the only escape from hunger, from misery and from bloodshed is peaceful, cultured relations among peoples and nations. That was the vision of the biblical prophets, and that is what is needed for the third millennium, which is at our doorstep.

As we seek to construct a brighter future, it is imperative that we be guided by the light of peace and democracy. Many States are putting their resources, their human energies and their creativity to waste by continuing to pursue military and other types of conflict. If all those resources were instead devoted to investment in human capital and economic development, we

(Mr. Yaacobi, Israel)

could be improving lives rather than ending them. If we invest in health, education and science instead of military hardware, then within one generation mankind could be free from hunger and illiteracy. The choice before us is between a barren future and a better future.

The other key to mankind's progress is democracy: the participation of people in defining their own lives and their own future. Without democracy there cannot be an environment of human rights. It is a fallacy to think that human rights can be safeguarded by totalitarian regimes and military dictatorships.

Democracy is an essential component of maintaining peaceful relations among States. The existence of democratic Government is the central guarantee for preventing a policy of violence and aggression. Never has one democracy declared war upon another democracy. That is not the result of chance; rather, it is the result of the nature of democracies. Therefore, democratization is not just a political and moral issue; rather it is directly tied to the existence of peace and stability.

Peace and democracy are the keys to a better world. This must be stated firmly and clearly. It is the basic and solid truth, and all of us must acknowledge it.

The Middle East might be called the land of lost opportunities. Lost opportunities have carried a very heavy and painful price for the peoples of the Middle East. Now we have a historic opportunity to change the situation; to create a new and better future for all of us; to replace tension with economic development, war with peace, and rearmament with investment in human resources.

(Mr. Yaacobi, Israel)

Egypt and Israel have so far been the only countries in the Middle East that have courageously not missed an opportunity for peace. Now, a new window of opportunity has been opened. Bilateral negotiations are currently being held between Israel and the neighbouring Arab States and the Palestinians. We hope that these negotiations will lead to peace treaties, and we hope that Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and the Palestinians, and Israel, will not miss this historic moment.

In the light of recent events, I call for an end to provocative acts of violence by extremists. We cannot afford to allow them to murder the prospects for peace.

(Mr. Yaacobi, Israel)

May I assure the Assembly that no provocation will divert Israel from the peace track. But Israel stands by its right to defend its citizens with its full force and authority.

The bilateral talks, as well as the multilateral negotiations, have created a new dynamic with good prospects. If there is a breakthrough towards peace between Israel and Syria, this will be the engine which will lead to a change in the face of the entire Middle East. Even if this does not occur, the train will have to go on. We shall not allow the steam to go with the wind.

An important and encouraging development, even revolutionary in the history of nations in the Middle East, is the growing awareness of the interdependence among peace, economic development and well-being.

Peace is therefore likely to be a great lever for regional economic development. The United Nations, the United States, Russia, the Europeans, Canada, Japan and others can mobilize their expertise and resources in numerous fields, including the establishment of a Middle East development bank. A peaceful environment could free up $30 billion annually from the cost of defence for progress and development. Moreover, it will also gradually allow movement in six major new directions: the establishment of a Middle Eastern common market; the creation of joint ventures, based upon integrated knowledge, capital and mineral resources from both inside and outside the region; the establishment of an integrated network of infrastructure for ports, airports, railways and energy plants; the opening of borders for tourism; the promotion of cooperation in the fields of health, professional training, knowledge, technology and agriculture; and the removal of all sorts of boycotts.

(Mr. Yaacobi, Israel)

Only when the guns fall silent and the peoples of the region are able to devote themselves to improving their quality of life rather than to military confrontation and futile hatred will the Middle East once again become a cradle of civilization. At stake are the very lives and well-being of hundreds of millions of people. At stake is the future of all of us.

Peace and democracy are the key elements to mankind's future progress. That being the case, I should like to raise the idea of initiating two task forces under the authority of the Secretary-General. One task force would be devoted to encouraging democratization through education about democracy and free elections. The goal of this United Nations task force on democracy would be to create a new state of mind regarding the importance of democracy for ensuring human rights and for improving the quality of life of people. The second proposed task force would seek to initiate regional cooperation in different parts of the world. It might be based upon the experience of the European Community and other regional frameworks for cooperation. Regional cooperation is necessary to enhance the ability of developing countries to cope with the more developed and wealthier countries of the world.

All great achievements in human history were dreams before they became realities. Our task as statesmen is to translate the dreams into reality. David Ben-Gurion, the founder and first leader of my country, said, "Israel's future will be determined by its righteousness and strength". With regard to this Assembly, I should like to state that our ability to fulfil our duty will be determined by our righteousness, strength and dedication to the vision and cause of peace.

Mr. YOO (Republic of Korea): The United Nations has reached a crucial stage in its evolution. Today innovative and comprehensive measures

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are required in order for the Organization to adapt to its complex responsibilities of the post-cold-war era. As previous speakers have eloquently noted, the Secretary-General, by submitting the report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" has effectively initiated discussions regarding the ability of the United Nations to ensure global peace and security. Our discussion today represents one essential step in advancing the dialogue necessary for future decisions, and thus my delegation would like to take this opportunity to touch on some of the proposals contained in the report.

With regard to preventive diplomacy there is widespread agreement among Members that the timely collection of information through formal or informal fact-finding missions can greatly contribute to the ability of the United Nations to ease tensions before they result in conflict. In the light of the overwhelming costs associated with efforts to resolve conflicts after they have begun, the concept of preventive diplomacy merits the full support of Member States.

In this regard my delegation commends the endeavours of the Secretary-General over the past year and hopes to see his fact-finding role strengthened. At the same time, we believe that certain aspects of the United Nations role in preventive diplomacy need further clarification and elaboration. For example, the question of securing the consent of the parties involved prior to the dispatch of United Nations-authorized fact-finding missions should be thoroughly examined and decisions should be made only after all possible implications have been considered.

Regarding the issues related to preventive diplomacy, my delegation recognizes the usefulness of preventive deployment. A United Nations presence deployed in a timely fashion with a clearly defined mandate from the Security

(Mr. Yoo, Republic of Korea)

Council could help deter the escalation of conflict. My delegation, however, feels that the question of preventive deployment without the consent of all parties involved in a potential inter-State dispute needs further study. Problems arising from the possible erosion of the neutrality of the United Nations could offset the gains to be expected from such preventive deployment.

My delegation is also concerned with the logistical implications of this proposal, as the introduction of preventive deployment will inevitably increase the demand for the already over-extended financial and human resources of the United Nations. We look forward to discussing this point along with the merits and the feasibility of preventive deployment.

The report's focus on peacemaking represents a new and important direction for the Organization. My delegation believes that the provisions of the Charter on the peaceful settlement of disputes should act as the principal guidelines for our collective efforts in resolving conflicts. We also find the proposals for a reinforced role for the International Court of Justice to be noteworthy. Indeed, the recent conclusion of the long-standing boundary dispute between Honduras and El Salvador should set a good precedent for the role of the World Court in resolving international disputes.

(Mr. Yoo, Republic of Korea)

The report also touches upon the right of States to consult the Security Council on special economic problems resulting from compliance with United Nations authorized sanctions, as provided for in Article 50 of the Charter. In practice, however, the economic consequences arising from the imposition of sanctions under Article 41 of the Charter have not been adequately addressed. My delegation joins the previous speakers who stressed the need for measures to alleviate such economic difficulties.

Before leaving the topic of peacemaking, I should like to address the proposals regarding peace-enforcement units. Recent events in the former Yugoslavia and Cambodia have demonstrated the need to ensure full compliance with cease-fire agreements. Clearly, an enhanced ability on the part of the United Nations to provide for or realize such compliance would contribute positively to its credibility. However, various questions must be answered before the Organization proceeds with any plans to establish peace-enforcement units. For example, to what extent will United Nations forces be expected to engage in military enforcement activities? Are Member States ready to make available a sufficient level of troop strength? How could we determine in advance which type of force - peace-enforcement or peace-keeping - would be needed in a particular situation? My delegation believes that these and other questions merit careful consideration by the United Nations membership.

In the area of peace-keeping, the expansion in both scale and scope of United Nations peace-keeping operations calls for increasing participation by Member States. For our part, the Republic of Korea has recently completed the questionnaire on peace-keeping, and has indicated the areas in which it is

(Mr. Yoo, Republic of Korea)

prepared to contribute to peace-keeping operations. As a new participant, my country can appreciate the need for a training programme for peace-keeping-operations personnel, and thus supports the Secretary-General's recommendations on this subject. We look forward to seeing an extensive training programme established under the aegis of the United Nations.

The financial difficulties faced by the United Nations may prevent it from effectively carrying out its many duties in the future. Indeed, the need for an urgent solution is widely recognized, and to this end, the Member States should make it a top priority to pay their assessed contributions as soon as possible.

In the area of peace-keeping, given the increasing scope of operations, the United Nations cannot be expected to achieve its goals unless it is provided with adequate financing. The Organization must be able not only to cover operational costs but also to allocate funds and logistical equipment quickly so that operations can be carried out in a timely manner. When days can make the precious difference between life and death, clearly the United Nations can no longer afford the luxury of protracted procedures.

A number of interesting proposals have been put forward to address the financing of peace-keeping operations, which we believe deserve careful study by Member States. To facilitate the Organization's peace-keeping function, especially at the crucial start-up phase, my delegation supports the establishment of a revolving fund for peace-keeping operations. In this regard, the recent proposal made by Japan to establish a new component in the working capital fund for peace-keeping operations has provided a good basis for constructive discussion.

(Mr. Yoo, Republic of Korea)

Regarding the proposal for changes in the current special scale of assessment for peace-keeping operations, my delegation is of the view that until and unless there emerges a consensus for a new format, it would be desirable to maintain the present scale.

The Security Council has been the focus of much discussion in recent years, primarily due to the expanded scope of activities made possible by the end of the cold war. The Republic of Korea fully supports the heightened role of the Council in maintaining global peace and security. Given the implications that Security Council resolutions have for the entire membership, it may better serve the international community to make consultations more transparent. Instituting a mechanism for the Council to hear opinions of the broadest possible range of Member States will help secure great support for its decisions. We hope that the Council will continue to discharge its important responsibilities effectively, harmonizing the need for efficiency and democratization.

The impetus provided by the Security Council meeting of Heads of State or Government on 31 January continues to have reverberations to this very day. We must not lose the momentum provided by that meeting, but more importantly, we must now generate new momentum with the participation of the whole membership of the United Nations to actually implement the reforms that are being elaborated by Member States. We hope that this pivotal moment in the history of the United Nations will someday be remembered as the rebirth of the Organization and the beginning of a new era based on multilateral cooperation.

Mr. PIBULSONGGRAM (Thailand): History is continually being shaped by dramatic and rapid developments in international relations. The ideological barrier that had threatened international peace and security has

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

collapsed, while the trend towards dialogue and cooperation at both regional and international levels has been enhanced. A new world order of consensus and global partnership has seemingly dawned.

This new world order requires not simply economic, political or cultural cooperation. Rather it in fact demands international cooperative exchange at all levels and in all fields. Let us refer to this new order as a new United Nations order in which all nations must come together as one to form a genuine international community.

While this new world order has initiated renewed hope and confidence in the Organization's ability to function as an arbiter for international peace and security, it is all too apparent that the task faced by the United Nations has become increasingly complex as more and greater demands are placed on the Organization. Peace is no longer satisfactory if it merely means an absence of war. Peace will prevail only when nation-States have achieved their political stability, economic prosperity and social harmony.

The United Nations must be revitalized if it is to be able to meet more effectively the demands of today and the expectations of tomorrow.

My delegation therefore welcomes the timely initiative taken by the Security Council summit meeting last January and wishes to commend the Secretary-General's efforts in preparing his excellent and comprehensive report, entitled "An Agenda for Peace". We fully agree that the role of the United Nations in preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping, as well as post-conflict peace-building, should be comprehensively strengthened within the framework and the provisions of the Charter.

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

I should now like to comment on some very important issues raised by the Secretary-General, which I believe must be considered thoroughly. First, my delegation concurs with the Secretary-General's observation that:

> "The foundation-stone of [the work of the United Nations] is and must remain the State." (A/47/277, para. 17)

Respect for the sovereignty and integrity of States is therefore vital in any common international undertaking. However, the complex tasks now faced by the Organization require as a consequence full cooperation from its Member States. Member States should therefore seek measures that will help facilitate the work of the Organization.

On the question of preventive diplomacy, my delegation recognizes that the ability of the United Nations to perform its tasks effectively depends on the timely availability of accurate information. The Secretary-General's use of fact-finding missions is therefore essential. My delegation would like to see careful consideration given to the Secretary-General's recommendation that United Nations observers be sent to areas of potential conflict at the request of Member States to prevent any outbreak of hostilities. We feel that there is a need for greater clarity regarding the scope of this innovative proposal and the circumstances under which it would be implemented, because this idea goes beyond the traditional principle of United Nations peace-keeping operations and, as several delegations have already mentioned, may well jeopardize the neutrality of the United Nations.

The United Nations role as peacemaker has been embodied in the spirit of the Organization from the very beginning, as envisioned in Chapter VI of the Charter. My delegation therefore supports the Secretary-General's efforts to strengthen the United Nations role in this field. To achieve this objective,

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

we believe, there is a need for greater communication and closer cooperation between the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General. Transparency in the Security Council's decision-making process and effective consultation with regional organizations and Member States would greatly help towards this end.

My delegation is fully aware of the economic difficulties often caused for third countries by the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII. We share the Secretary-General's view that those States should have the right to consult the Security Council. The Council should also devise a set of measures, involving the financial institutions of the United Nations system, to help insulate States from such difficulties.

Let me now turn to the question of peace-keeping operations. With new and troubling conflicts this year, we have seen a major increase in United Nations peace-keeping and peacemaking activities, such as the United Nations Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia and the United Nations Operation in Somalia, to name but two. As we speak, there are reports of renewed conflict in southern Lebanon. This increase in the number of operations has been accompanied by an increase in complexity both in components and in goals. United Nations peace-keepers now include soldiers, police, civilian administrators, diplomats, engineers and poll watchers. Although peace-keeping operations continue to monitor ceasefires, much more is now expected.

The Secretary-General's proposal to establish a United Nations stand-by force thus deserves serious consideration. Situations are not only foreseeable, but have actually occurred, wherein forces and other personnel resources are needed at very short notice. To meet such a need, Member States

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

might be asked to earmark certain military forces that could be deployed for peace-keeping operations.

We can see that much of the success of all peace-keeping activities depends on the prior training of personnel. The need for a uniform standard of logistic procedures is self-evident. The Secretariat might designate a focal point for training activities. Regional and national training centres might be established, with the possibility of an annual peace-keeping fellowship programme in order to provide an additional opportunity for States to train their personnel.

Thailand always stands ready to be of service to the United Nations in its important peace-keeping role. In the past we have participated in several United Nations peace-keeping operations, such as the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia and the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission. We also sent 50 military personnel to join the United Nations guard contingent in Iraq. Closer to home, Thailand has rendered its full support to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC).

At the request of the Secretary-General, this year my Government dispatched an engineer battalion to serve under UNTAC in Cambodia. In light of the election scheduled to be held under UNTAC supervision in May next year, the task of the Thai battalion is not only important and urgent, but dangerous as well. It is mandated to clear mines and to help prepare the Cambodian infrastructure. These activities will help prepare the groundwork for the operations of UNTAC and the repatriation of more than 370,000 displaced persons who had sought refuge in Thailand. In addition, Thailand dispatched 15 military and military police personnel to serve at UNTAC Headquarters in Phnom Penh. Thai territory has also been used as a staging area for the operations of UNTAC.

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

It is our firm belief that the United Nations peace-keeping operations are too vital to the maintenance of world peace to remain hostage to financial and budgetary restrictions. While monthly expenditures for all peace-keeping operations amount to approximately $220 million, unpaid contributions to these operations remain high - well over $600 million. The key to solving this intractable problem still lies in Member States' paying their assessed contributions in full and on time. Since this is not possible, for a variety of reasons, ranging from inability to pay through delays caused by different national budgetary systems to unwillingness to pay, we welcome the Secretary-General's bold and innovative proposal to establish a temporary peace-keeping reserve fund of $50 million as a means to alleviate the financial problems, in particular the start-up cost of peace-keeping operations.

My delegation also welcomes the Secretary-General's other proposals, which aim at creating a sound and stable financial basis for future operations, such as the peace endowment fund. We agree that such a fund can be created by a combination of assessed and voluntary contributions, with the latter being sought not only from Governments, but from the private sector and individuals as well. Other contributions in kind from the private sector, such as vehicles or equipment, should also be considered.

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

My delegation wishes to emphasize our belief that the financing of peace-keeping operations is a matter of the collective responsibility of all Member States. What better way to show our commitment to the Organization than by paying our contributions in full and on time?

At a time when the eyes of the world are on the United Nations as the best hope for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Secretary-General's report is timely. My delegation is prepared to take part in the examination and consideration of the ideas and proposals contained in his report. We therefore think that the establishment of an open-ended working group, as proposed by several delegations, would be most useful. It would provide a forum for all Member States and the relevant organs of the United Nations to consider this document, which is of fundamental importance to the Organization, and to make their respective contributions to any new direction the United Nations may take.

As I said at the beginning of my statement, international events have shown the United Nations to be a vital instrument for the maintenance and enhancement of international peace and security. We have been following Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's first year in office with keen interest and admiration. He has our full support in his attempts to reform and to revitalize this Organization so that it may better serve mankind as a new millennium approaches.

I can find no words that can better prescribe what we must do together than those so eloquently said by the Secretary-General himself:

"Yesterday's conflicts are no longer today's conflict. Let us join hands to prevent today's conflicts from becoming tomorrow's conflicts."

These are words that we should all heed.

Mr. DIAW (Mali) (interpretation from French): My delegation welcomes this opportunity to speak on agenda item 10, the importance of which is so clear.*

May I first repeat our heartfelt congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, and convey to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the high esteem my delegation has for the comprehensive, in-depth reports he has produced on the work of the Organization (A/47/1) and on "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277).

The documents now before the Assembly are certainly a valid working instrument that we should use as rationally as possible in order to enable the international community finally to start moving towards the noble purposes of the Charter, which are:

> "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war ... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights ... to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

Documents A/47/1 and A/47/277, despite their undeniable qualities, nevertheless call for a few comments that we shall present, succinctly, since most of them have already been touched on by previous speakers, in particular the Ambassador of Indonesia speaking on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, whose analysis I share.

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* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Diaw, Mali)

Turning to the work of the Organization, we believe that the time has come to make full use of what is termed the peace dividend. In order to do this, the United Nations must abandon the attitude which was able to conceive of the world only in terms of antagonistic blocs. The end of the cold war now means that we can renounce that kind of thinking and adopt a different type of behaviour. As the Secretary-General says, we are living in a period of hope that must be transformed into a period of achievement through a new spirit of solidarity, strengthened determination and bold action.

The winds of democracy that have been blowing since 1989 have left no continent untouched. This has been reflected in the liberation of peoples in several States that have become Members of our Organization, thus increasing the workload and the responsibilities of the Secretary-General. Consequently, the needs that the Organization must meet are increasing in number and variety.

But, of course, nothing in all of this should affect the efforts to be made by the team that holds the reins of our Organization. The work of the Organization must go on and be stepped up, particularly in the area of peace-keeping operations, good offices, preventive diplomacy, humanitarian missions, emergency relief and technical cooperation and cultural activities in the developing countries.

My delegation shares the view of the Secretary-General regarding the rationalization of the Secretariat, which necessarily implies the closest possible cooperation between Member States, the Secretary-General and the staff. This is the only way that a viable restructuring can be carried out, in the best interests of the Member States and the staff. We also support any restructuring process in the economic and social field whose end purpose is to enable the Secretariat to respond, in a timely and coordinated manner, to complex emergency situations and to development priorities.

(Mr. Diaw, Mali)

We welcome the Secretary-General's initiative aimed at boosting capability in respect of good offices, preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, early warning research and analysis, and at strengthening the Secretariat's capacity for planning and management in the area of peace-keeping. Our Organization must from now on be able to rise to the new challenges and respond to new objectives, specifically those which were recently defined at the Rio de Janeiro Conference in respect of sustainable development and the environment.

(Mr. Diaw, Mali)

In order to achieve this goal we urge the Secretary-General to pursue his approach to the concept of the international civil service and the improvement of conditions of employment, including salaries, long-term recruitment policies, the remuneration structure and career development. We believe that in order to attain these noble goals the Organization needs increased financial resources. But as a representative from one of the least-developed countries, would I be acting responsibly in going along with a policy which would demand payment of interest on any portion of assessments not paid in time by a Member State? Of course not. To ensure the financial stability of our Organization, we must consider other means of paying assessed contributions commensurate with each country's real economic capacity.

But my delegation does support the idea of establishing a $50 million reserve fund for peace-keeping operations, which would finance the start-up of peace-keeping operations pending the payment of assessed contributions.

In his report the Secretary-General advocates a world partnership for development that he deems to be feasible if an integrated approach to development is adopted. My delegation agrees with this way of tackling the problem because we are convinced that political progress and economic development are linked and must be given the same attention by the developing countries and by the industrialized countries - the former, constantly concerned about how to mitigate their poverty; the latter, anxious to avoid economic stagnation at all costs. Economic solidarity seems to us to be the only choice for building a viable future for all.

(Mr. Diaw, Mali)

Turning to human rights, we believe that "An Agenda for Peace" is deserving of the attention that the international community has been giving it since the beginning of our work on agenda item 10.

The Organization has exerted considerable efforts to ensure the maintenance of peace throughout the world. These efforts deserve increased support, given the fact that there are more, rather than fewer, hotbeds of tension. The policy of dispatching United Nations forces would gradually give way to preventive diplomacy, which has the advantage of avoiding armed conflicts, or at least containing them, and thus saving many lives.

In conclusion, may I once again express my delegation's total support for the reports that the Secretary-General has placed before us at this forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, and express the hope that this wealth of material will be the effective instrument the international community was waiting for in order finally to meet the many challenges on the road to renewal.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker on this item.

The 167 statements made during the Assembly's general debate and the 65 statements heard so far under agenda item 10, "Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization", including the report "An Agenda for Peace", affirm the view that the membership of the United Nations as a whole has welcomed the report of the Secretary-General as a very important contribution at this turning point in the Organization's history. It is fair to say that the end of the cold war not only affords an opportunity but makes it necessary to undertake with a sense of urgency a comprehensive set of actions and reforms in the direction the Secretary-General has pointed out.

(The President)

I should like to recall that the Secretary-General has made it clear that he has not put his recommendations forward as a package and that it is up to the Member States to decide which recommendation to act on and in what form.

During the Assembly's general debate a number of important and interesting proposals were made, and many far-reaching ideas have been put forward during the debate on this item. They form a solid basis for our work in the future. I should like to thank the representatives of all the delegations that contributed to the fruitful consideration of this item.

Debate is an important part of the road that we have yet to cover in order to reach practical results. It is now time for the Main Committees, within their respective spheres of competence, to do their part and contribute to the attainment of our objective of revitalizing the United Nations.

I attach great importance to the informal consultations on this item with representatives of Member States. I intend to establish immediately, with the participation of the Chairmen of the Main Committees, a working mechanism through which we will coordinate our further activities. This mechanism will be finally constituted after the conclusion of the informal consultations and discussions which I am now conducting as President of the General Assembly.

It is customary for the Assembly to take note of the annual report of the Secretary-General. If I hear no objection, may I consider that the Assembly wishes to take note of the report of the Secretary-General?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: We have concluded this stage of our consideration of agenda item 10.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.